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FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
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SUBJECT: U.S. ASSISTANCE FOR LAND REFORM

REFS: (A) 98 HARARE 7612, (B) 98 HARARE 5986, (C) HARARE 1609,

(D) HARARE 2221, (E) HARARE 2205

11. SUMMARY: THIS CABLE PROVIDES A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE BACKGROUND AND RATIONALE FOR U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE, THE STATUS OF ZIMBABWE'S CURRENT SECOND PHASE OF ITS LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME (LRRP II), USAID AND OTHER DONOR ASSISTANCE FOR LRRP II, AND THE STATUS OF THAT ASSISTANCE AS A RESULT OF THE PRESENT FARM OCCUPATION PROBLEM IN ZIMBABWE. THIS IS AN UNCLASSIFIED DOCUMENT AND MAY BE SHARED WITH THE U.S. CONGRESS. END SUMMARY.

ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

12. IN JUNE 1998, THE GOVERNMENT OF ZIMBABWE (GOZ) RELEASED A DRAFT "POLICY FRAMEWORK AND PROJECT DOCUMENT" FOR PHASE II OF THE LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROGRAMME (LRRP II) SETTING FORTH THE GOVERNMENT'S PROPOSED POLICIES AND PLANS FOR PURSUING A SECOND MAJOR PHASE OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE. (COMMENT: WHILE DEFINITIONS MAY VARY, THE FIRST 'PHASE' OF ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM PROGRAM PROCEEDED SPORADICALLY SINCE INDEPENDENCE, WITH
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ONLY ABOUT 71,000 FAMILIES RESETTLED ON ABOUT 3.5 MILLION HECTARES (HA) OF LAND. THIS CURRENT SECOND PHASE OF THE PROGRAM WAS LAUNCHED AT LEAST PARTIALLY IN RESPONSE TO THE GOVERNMENT'S FAILED ATTEMPT TO COMPULSORILY ACQUIRE 1,471 COMMERCIAL FARMS IN 11997. AS A RESULT OF GOVERNMENT'S INABILITY TO ADHERE TO THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS ASSOCIATED WITH THIS PROPOSED ACTION, THE NET RESULT OF THIS EFFORT, ASIDE FROM THE CONSIDERABLE ECONOMIC UNCERTAINTY THIS ACTION CAUSED, WAS THE IDENTIFICATION OF 118 FARMS WHICH WERE UNCONTESTED BY THE OWNERS FOR PROGRAM ACQUISITION/USE (REF A). END COMMENT.) AS DESCRIBED IN THIS PROGRAM DOCUMENT, LRRP II IS AN AMBITIOUS FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE RESETTLEMENT OF 91,000 FAMILIES (UP TO 550,000 PEOPLE, PLUS AN UNSPECIFIED NUMBER OF SECONDARY 'SPIN OFF' BENEFICIARIES) ON FIVE MILLION HECTARES (HA) OF LAND IN THE COUNTRY'S LARGE-SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMING SECTOR, AT AN ESTIMATED COST OF US\$ 1.9 BILLION.

INTERNATIONAL DONORS' CONFERENCE ON LAND REFORM

13. THE GOZ CONVENED AN INTERNATIONAL DONORS CONFERENCE ON LAND

REFORM IN ZIMBABWE ON SEPTEMBER 9-11, 1998 TO ADDRESS DONORS' EXPRESSED INTEREST AND CONCERNS REGARDING LRRP II (REF B). THE CONFERENCE WAS ATTENDED BY SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL MAJOR INTERNATIONAL, MULTILATERAL AND BILATERAL DONORS TO ZIMBABWE, AS WELL AS KEY ZIMBABWEAN NON-GOVERNMENTAL, CIVIL SOCIETY, FARMERS' UNIONS AND PRIVATE SECTOR STAKEHOLDERS. AT THE CONFERENCE, DONORS UNANIMOUSLY ENDORSED THE NEED FOR LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE FOR PURPOSES OF POVERTY ALLEVIATION (FOR THE POOR INDIGENOUS MAJORITY WITHIN THE COUNTRY'S CONGESTED COMMUNAL AREAS), AND ECONOMIC GROWTH AND STABILITY. THE DONORS' MAJOR RESERVATIONS REGARDING THE PROPOSED PROGRAM INCLUDED THE: (1) LACK OF UNCLASSIFIED

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CAPACITY OF THE GOVERNMENT TO IMPLEMENT SUCH A MASSIVE PROGRAM; AND (2) A STRONG NEED/DESIRE FOR A MORE OPEN, TRANSPARENT AND CONSULTATIVE LAND REFORM PROCESS IN ZIMBABWE (INCLUDING THE POSSIBILITY OF MORE BOTTOM-UP, PARTICIPATORY AND MARKET-ORIENTED APPROACHES TOWARDS PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION, RATHER THAN SIMPLY RELYING ON THE MORE TOP-DOWN AND DIRECTIVE GOVERNMENT-ADMINISTERED APPROACHES OF LAND REFORM WHICH HAVE YIELDED POOR RESULTS IN ZIMBABWE AND ELSEWHERE).
IN RESPONSE TO THESE CONCERNS, THROUGH A JOINT COMMUNIQUE ISSUED AT THE END OF THE CONFERENCE, GOVERNMENT AND DONORS AGREED TO AN INITIAL 24-MONTH "INCEPTION PHASE" OF LRRP II TO BE PURSUED ACCORDING TO THE FOLLOWING MAJOR PRINCIPLES AND OBJECTIVES:

-IMMEDIATELY IMPLEMENT RESETTLEMENT BEGINNING WITH THE 118 UNCONTESTED FARMS ON OFFER;

-IMPLEMENT CURRENT GOZ RESETTLEMENT MODELS AND PROVIDE OPPORTUNITIES FOR TESTING ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES;

-UNDERTAKE ONGOING MONITORING DURING THE INCEPTION PHASE WITH AN

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EVALUATION AT THE END;

-INTEGRATE THE LRRP II INTO THE NATIONAL MACRO-ECONOMIC POLICY AND POVERTY ALLEVIATION PLANS. POLICY REFORMS WOULD INCLUDE THE INTRODUCTION OF AN AGRICULTURAL LAND TAX, STREAMLINING SUBDIVISION REGULATIONS AND OPERATIONALIZING IMPROVED LAND TENURE ARRANGEMENTS;

-UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS WITH STAKEHOLDERS AND LEARN FROM EXTERNAL EXPERIENCES;

-PROVIDE EQUAL ACCESS AND OWNERSHIP OF LAND BY MEN AND WOMEN AND INVOLVE WOMEN IN PLANNING AND IMPLEMENTATION;

-IMPLEMENT THE PROGRAM IN A TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND SUSTAINABLE MANNER, WITH REGARD TO RESPECT FOR THE LAW, AND TO BROADENED STAKEHOLDER AND BENEFICIARY PARTICIPATION; AND

-ORGANIZE AND MANAGE THE LRRP II IN WAYS THAT INCLUDE CONSULTATIONS AND PARTNERSHIPS OF THE GOZ WITH ALL STAKEHOLDERS, THE BENEFICIARIES AND CIVIL SOCIETY (INCLUDING THE NATIONAL UNCLASSIFIED

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ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE FORUM, COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION (CFU), ZIMBABWE FARMERS' UNION (ZFU), INDIGENOUS COMMERCIAL FARMERS' UNION (ICFU), WOMEN'S ORGANIZATIONS AND OTHER NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS).

14. MARKET-BASED APPROACHES: AMONG THE MORE SIGNIFICANT ACHIEVEMENTS OF THE DONORS' LAND CONFERENCE WAS GOZ ACCEPTANCE TO ALLOW ALTERNATIVE RESETTLEMENT MODELS AND TO PROCEED WITH WORK ON LAND POLICY ISSUES THAT WOULD PAVE THE WAY FOR LAND TENURE REFORM. ACCEPTANCE OF THE NEED TO WORK ON POLICY ISSUES, SUCH AS LAND TAXATION, SUBDIVISION, FARM SIZE LIMITATIONS, LAND TENURE, ETC., THAT WOULD STIMULATE A LAND MARKET AND CREATE INCENTIVES FOR EFFICIENT LAND USE REPRESENTED A SIGNIFICANT POLICY BREAKTHROUGH FROM PAST GOZ POSITIONS ON THIS SUBJECT. DESPITE THE POLITICAL RHETORIC, GOZ TECHNICAL COUNTERPARTS UNDERSTAND AND SUPPORT THESE CONCEPTS AND, IN FACT, PROGRESS IS BEING MADE ON THESE ISSUES. IN THIS REGARD, UNDER THE NEW LAND POLICY FRAMEWORK COMPLETED IN FALL 1999, A NEW PROGRESSIVE LAND TAX HAS BEEN APPROVED BY CABINET FOR LEGISLATIVE ACTION, DRAFT REGULATIONS ON FARM SIZE LIMITATIONS HAVE BEEN COMPLETED, NEW REGULATIONS ON LAND SUBDIVISION ARE ACTIVELY BEING PURSUED AND LONGER-TERM PLANS FOR ADDRESSING WOMENS' AND MORE GENERAL LAND TENURE RIGHTS ARE UNDER DEVELOPMENT. COMMENT: AS DESCRIBED BELOW (SEE PARA 13.B.), USAID ASSISTANCE FOR THIS PROGRAM HAS BEEN DESIGNED SPECIFICALLY TO PROVIDE SUPPORT ON THESE KEY POLICY ISSUES. END COMMENT.

15. THE U.S. GOVERNMENT, REPRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR MCDONALD, ISSUED A FORMAL STATEMENT AT THE CONFERENCE EXPRESSING OUR STRONG SUPPORT FOR "A LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT PROCESS THAT IS TRANSPARENT, FAIR AND DOES NOT HARM THE IMPORTANT UNCLASSIFIED

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AGRICULTURAL SECTOR OF THE ECONOMY - IN ORDER TO CREATE THE ENABLING ENVIRONMENT FOR SUSTAINABLE AND EQUITABLE ECONOMIC GROWTH - AS A MATTER OF SOCIAL JUSTICE." IN ADDITION, WHILE ACKNOWLEDGING OUR FUNDING LIMITATIONS (AT THE TIME, THE USAID MISSION TO ZIMBABWE WAS STILL SCHEDULED TO CLOSEOUT IN FY2003) AND THE USG'S INABILITY TO FINANCE COMPULSORY LAND ACQUISITION, THE STATEMENT PLEDGED OUR DESIRE TO "REMAIN A REAL PLAYER IN ZIMBABWE'S LAND REFORM PROGRAM" THROUGH THE PROVISION OF UNSPECIFIED "TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE IN WAYS THAT THE COGNIZANT AUTHORITIES DEEM USEFUL." COMMENT: IN ADDITION TO FUNDING AND MANAGEMENT CONSTRAINTS, POSSIBLE USG ASSISTANCE FOR THIS PROGRAM WAS LIMITED TO 'TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE' AS A MORE CAUTIOUS INITIAL APPROACH TOWARD PROGRAM INVOLVEMENT. WE CONSIDERED THIS APPROACH PRUDENT AT THAT TIME, IN VIEW OF THE CONSIDERABLE POLITICAL RHETORIC ASSOCIATED WITH THE SUBJECT OF LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE. WE ALSO BELIEVED IT WAS IMPORTANT TO ALLOW SUFFICIENT TIME TO OBSERVE AND LEARN FROM THE PROGRESS AND RESULTS OF THE PILOT INCEPTION PHASE BEFORE MAKING ANY MORE SUBSTANTIVE U.S. FUNDING COMMITMENTS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE USG POSITION DID NOT PRECLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF SIGNIFICANT ADDITIONAL U.S. FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR LRRP II SHOULD THE INCEPTION PHASE PROVE

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SUCCESSFUL IN MEETING ITS IMPORTANT INITIAL PROGRAM TARGETS.
END COMMENT.

INCEPTION PHASE

16. ON NOVEMBER 1, 1999, THE GOZ ISSUED THE PILOT "INCEPTION PHASE FRAMEWORK PLAN -1999-2000" DOCUMENT, CALLING FOR THE RESETTLEMENT OF 33,800 FARM FAMILIES (PLUS SOME 85,000 NON-FARM FAMILY SECONDARY 'SPIN OFF' BENEFICIARIES) OVER AN INITIAL 24-MONTH PERIOD ON ONE MILLION HA OF LAND. THIS INCEPTION PHASE DOCUMENT DULY INCORPORATED ALL OF THE AGREEMENTS REACHED AT THE DONORS' LAND CONFERENCE, INCLUDING A FAIR, JUST, TRANSPARENT AND HIGHLY CONSULTATIVE PROCESS; ALTERNATIVE AS WELL AS GOVERNMENT-ADMINISTERED APPROACHES; AND WOMENS' LAND RIGHTS AND PARTICIPATION; ETC.). ACCORDINGLY, IT RECEIVED WIDESPREAD SUPPORT FROM ALL KEY LRRP II STAKEHOLDERS (INCLUDING ALL THREE OF THE FARMERS' UNIONS - CFU, ICFU, ZFU).

INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK

17. DUE TO ITS PARAMOUNT IMPORTANCE, LRRP II HAS A WIDE VARIETY
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OF STAKEHOLDERS LOCATED IN SEVERAL DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURES. ON THE GOVERNMENT SIDE, THE KEY INSTITUTIONAL STRUCTURE IS THE CABINET COMMITTEE ON RURAL RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (CRD), CHAIRED BY VICE-PRESIDENT JOSEPH MSIKA, AND CONSISTING OF THE MINISTERS OF LANDS AND AGRICULTURE; LOCAL GOVERNMENT AND NATIONAL HOUSING; RURAL RESOURCES AND WATER DEVELOPMENT; NATIONAL AFFAIRS, EMPLOYMENT CREATION AND COOPERATIVES; FINANCE; MINES, ENVIRONMENT AND TOURISM; TRANSPORT AND ENERGY; AND THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC PLANNING COMMISSION. THIS CABINET-LEVEL, DECISION-MAKING GROUP IS SUPPORTED BY A 'WORKING PARTY' OF THE CRD, COMPOSED OF PERMANENT SECRETARIES OF THE ABOVE MINISTRIES, WHICH IN TURN IS SUPPORTED BY THE INTER-MINISTERIAL COMMITTEE ON RURAL RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT (IMCRD), COMPOSED OF HEADS OF PARTICIPATING GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

18. THE KEY STRUCTURE FOR NON-GOVERNMENTAL INPUT INTO THE LAND REFORM PROCESS IS THE LAND REFORM, RURAL RESETTLEMENT AND DEVELOPMENT TASK FORCE (LAND TASK FORCE) OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMIC CONSULTATIVE FORUM (NECF). THE NECF LAND TASK FORCE IS COMPOSED OF SENIOR REPRESENTATIVES OF MOST KEY NON-GOVERNMENTAL/CIVIL SOCIETY STAKEHOLDERS IN LAND REFORM IN ZIMBABWE, INCLUDING ALL MAJOR FARMERS' AND FARM WORKERS' UNIONS, WOMENS' GROUPS, UNIVERSITY/ACADEMIC INTERESTS, AND OTHER CONCERNED PRIVATE/NON-GOVERNMENTAL INTERESTS. GOVERNMENT IS ALSO REPRESENTED ON THE NECF LAND TASK FORCE AT THE WORKING PARTY (PERMANENT SECRETARY) LEVEL OF THE CRD NOTED ABOVE.

19. DONOR AGENCIES "ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN SUPPORTING LRRP II" ARE REPRESENTED THROUGH A JOINT CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE OF GOVERNMENT AND DONORS ON LAND REFORM ADMINISTERED THROUGH THE UNITED
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NATION'S DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM (UNDP).

110. FINALLY, A NEW TECHNICAL SUPPORT UNIT (TSU) IS NOW ALMOST FULLY ESTABLISHED, RESPONSIBLE FOR THE DAY-TO-DAY MANAGEMENT OF LRRP II, WHICH WILL INTERACT WITH ALL OF THESE INSTITUTIONAL STAKEHOLDERS AT THE WORKING LEVEL TO FACILITATE THE EFFECTIVE PLANNING, IMPLEMENTATION, COORDINATION AND MONITORING OF PROGRAM ACTIVITIES. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS IMPORTANT PROGRAM MANDATE, ALL AGREED THAT THE TSU MERITED PRIORITY DONOR SUPPORT.

111. ALL OF THESE DIFFERENT INSTITUTIONAL MECHANISMS MEET PERIODICALLY, AS REQUIRED, TO DISCUSS LRRP II POLICY, PLANS, PROGRESS, ISSUES AND CONSTRAINTS. RECOMMENDATIONS FOR PROGRAM POLICY AND/OR IMPLEMENTATION CAN, AND DO FLOW IN ALMOST ANY DIRECTION AMONG THESE VARIOUS INSTITUTIONS, WITH FINAL DECISIONS REFERRED TO THE CRD (AND EVENTUALLY TO PARLIAMENT FOR THOSE

ACTIONS REQUIRING LEGISLATION). ALTHOUGH SOMEWHAT CUMBERSOME, WHEN GIVEN THE CHANCE, THESE INSTITUTIONAL ARRANGEMENTS HAVE FUNCTIONED REASONABLY WELL IN THE PAST. THE MAJOR PROBLEMS HAVE OCCURRED WHEN GOVERNMENT IGNORES THIS ESTABLISHED STRUCTURE, GENERALLY FOR POLITICAL PURPOSES AS IN THE CURRENT FARM

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OCCUPATION CRISIS. COMMENT: A NEW INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK (E.G., INDEPENDENT LAND COMMISSION, ETC.) IS ONE OF THE MAJOR TOPICS ON THE PROGRAM'S POLICY REFORM AGENDA. END COMMENT.

U.S. ASSISTANCE FOR LRRP II

12. IN AGREEMENT WITH ITS CONFERENCE PLEDGE, THE USG, THROUGH USAID, HAS SIGNED TWO AGREEMENTS FOR SUPPORT TO LRRP II IN KEY AREAS WHERE WE BELIEVE WE CAN EXERT A SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE INFLUENCE ON THE COURSE OF GREATER PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION. THESE AREAS INCLUDE PROGRAM MANAGEMENT AND COORDINATION, AND LAND POLICY FORMULATION AND IMPLEMENTATION. BOTH OF THESE ACTIVITIES ARE DESCRIBED BRIEFLY BELOW:

1A. THE FIRST OF THESE TWO ACTIVITIES IS UNDP PROJECT NO. ZIM/98/008 FOR SUPPORT FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT AND INITIAL OPERATIONS OF THE TECHNICAL SUPPORT UNIT (TSU - NOTED ABOVE) - THE KEY MANAGEMENT ENTITY FOR LRRP II IMPLEMENTATION. (NOTE: THE USG FUNDS ONE QUARTER OF THE TOTAL US\$ 920,000 COST OF THIS MULTI-DONOR PROJECT. TOTAL ACTIVITY COSTS ARE FUNDED THROUGH CONTRIBUTIONS OF US\$ 230,000 FROM EACH OF FOUR DONORS - SWEDEN, UNCLASSIFIED

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THE NETHERLANDS, NORWAY AND THE U.S.). SINCE THIS PROJECT'S INCEPTION, SEVERAL OTHER DONORS, INCLUDING THE WORLD BANK AND FRANCE, HAVE ALSO AGREED TO PROVIDE SUPPLEMENTARY ASSISTANCE TO THE UNIT OUTSIDE OF THIS UNDP AGREEMENT IN RECOGNITION OF ITS KEY ROLE IN SUCCESSFUL LRRP II IMPLEMENTATION. END NOTE.) THE UNDP PROJECT PROVIDES FOR TSU STAFFING AND OPERATIONAL SUPPORT, AND ASSOCIATED TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE AND TRAINING FOR LRRP II POLICY ANALYSIS AND IMPLEMENTATION; PROGRAM PLANNING, PROCEDURAL DEVELOPMENT AND IMPLEMENTATION; PROGRAM COORDINATION, INFORMATION DISSEMINATION AND PUBLIC RELATIONS; AND PROGRAM MONITORING AND EVALUATION. THIS MULTI-DONOR PROJECT IS ADMINISTERED BY THE UNDP THROUGH ITS UMBRELLA 'BILATERAL' AGREEMENT WITH THE GOZ, WITH INDIVIDUAL AGREEMENTS BETWEEN EACH OF THE FOUR PARTICIPATING DONORS AND UNDP. THE UMBRELLA AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE GOZ AND UNDP WAS SIGNED ON MAY 19, 1999; THE USAID-UNDP AGREEMENT WAS SIGNED ON AUGUST 2, 1999. THE PROJECT COMPLETION DATE IS MAY 31, 2001, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE

INCEPTION PHASE'S TWO-YEAR TIMEFRAME.

1B. THE OTHER USAID ACTIVITY - THE LAND POLICY REFORM PROJECT (NO. 613-0249) - CONSISTS OF A US\$ 1.5 MILLION COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT BETWEEN USAID AND THE UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN (MADISON)'S LAND TENURE CENTER (LTC) TO PROVIDE TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, TRAINING, CAPACITY BUILDING AND RESEARCH IN SUPPORT OF LRRP II POLICY ANALYSIS AND IMPLEMENTATION, AND PROGRAM MONITORING AND EVALUATION. THE GOZ SPECIFICALLY REQUESTED U.S. ASSISTANCE IN THIS AREA IN RECOGNITION OF LTC'S PRE-EMINENT EXPERIENCE IN LAND REFORM FOLLOWING OVER 30 YEARS OF WORK IN THIS AREA THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. IN AGREEMENT WITH ITS CAPACITY-BUILDING OBJECTIVES, THIS ACTIVITY IS BEING IMPLEMENTED WITH MAXIMUM ZIMBABWEAN UNCLASSIFIED

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PARTICIPATION THROUGH A PARTNERSHIP ARRANGEMENT WITH THE UNIVERSITY OF ZIMBABWE'S CENTER FOR APPLIED SOCIAL SCIENCES (CASS). THE AGREEMENT WITH LTC WAS SIGNED ON SEPTEMBER 29, 1999, INCLUDING PROVISION OF THE INITIAL US\$ 800,000 TRANCHE OF FUNDS. THE SECOND TRANCHE OF INCREMENTAL FUNDING OF US\$ 700,000 IS PLANNED FOR FY2000, THEREBY FULLY FUNDING THE \$ 1.5 MILLION LTC AGREEMENT. THE ACTIVITY COMPLETION DATE IS SEPTEMBER 30, 2002.

13. ACKNOWLEDGING THE HIGH POLITICAL STAKES AND SENSITIVITY SURROUNDING LRRP II, THE AGREEMENTS FOR BOTH OF THESE ACTIVITIES PROVIDE "ESCAPE" CLAUSES, WHERE CONTINUING PROJECT ASSISTANCE CAN BE REVIEWED, SUSPENDED OR EVEN TERMINATED SHOULD THE PROGRAM NOT PROCEED IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE COMMUNIQUE AGREEMENTS REACHED AT THE DONORS' LAND CONFERENCE (SEE PARA 3. ABOVE). HOWEVER, BEFORE ANY UNILATERAL ACTION IS TAKEN, THE UNDP PROJECT AGREEMENT CALLS FOR A TRI-PARTITE MEETING BETWEEN THE GOZ, DONORS AND UNDP TO "IDENTIFY THE BEST WAY FORWARD - SHOULD ONE OF THESE FACTORS CEASE TO PERSEVERE." THE LTC COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT INCLUDES NO SUCH MEETING REQUIREMENT, AND ACTION CAN BE TAKEN UNDER THIS LATTER AGREEMENT AS DEEMED APPROPRIATE.

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SUBJECT: U.S. ASSISTANCE FOR LAND REFORM

OTHER DONOR ASSISTANCE

14. IN ADDITION TO THOSE COUNTRIES CONTRIBUTING TO THE ABOVE UNDP/TSU PROJECT, THE WORLD BANK AND THE FRANCE ARE THE ONLY OTHER COUNTRIES CURRENTLY PROVIDING SIGNIFICANT ASSISTANCE TO LRRP II. ALTHOUGH NOT YET FULLY OPERATIONAL, THE WORLD BANK (WB) HAS SIGNED A US\$ 5 MILLION 'LEARNING AND INNOVATION' LOAN WITH THE GOVERNMENT TO SUPPORT INCEPTION PHASE IMPLEMENTATION,

WHICH INCLUDES ADDITIONAL STAFFING SUPPORT FOR THE TSU AS WELL AS SIGNIFICANT FUNDS FOR ALTERNATIVE RESETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES (BUT NOT FOR LAND ACQUISITION COSTS). THE BANK HAS ALSO INDICATED ITS WILLINGNESS TO USE FUNDS FROM ITS EXISTING US\$ 60 MILLION COMMUNITY ACTION PROJECT (CAP) FOR LRRP II RESETTLEMENT PURPOSES. FRANCE IS ALSO PROVIDING ASSISTANCE TO THE TSU IN THE FORM OF LONG-TERM TECHNICAL ADVISORY SERVICES FOR PROGRAM PLANNING, AND MONITORING AND EVALUATION, AS WELL AS A SMALL AMOUNT OF FUNDS FOR RESETTLEMENT ACTIVITIES IN MASHONALAND PROVINCE.

15. BRITAIN AND THE EUROPEAN UNION (EU) HAVE STATED THEIR
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INTENTION TO PROVIDE SUBSTANTIAL ASSISTANCE FOR LRRP II, AND BOTH HAVE PREPARED PRELIMINARY PROJECT PROPOSALS FOR THIS PURPOSE. SIGNIFICANTLY, BRITAIN WAS THE ONLY DONOR CONSIDERING FUNDING LAND ACQUISITION COSTS. HOWEVER, WITH THE RECENT TURBULENT DIPLOMATIC RELATIONS - EXACERBATED GREATLY BY THE NEW CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT OBLIGING BRITAIN, AS THE FORMER COLONIAL RULER, TO PAY FOR LAND ACQUISITION COSTS AND THE RECENT FARM INVASIONS - BOTH OF THESE DONORS' PLANS FOR LRRP II SUPPORT HAVE NOW BEEN PUT ON HOLD, PENDING THE OUTCOME OF IN-COUNTRY DEVELOPMENTS AND DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT.

PROGRESS TO DATE

16. AS A RESULT OF BOTH INTERNAL AND EXTERNAL FACTORS, PROGRESS IN IMPLEMENTING BOTH OF THE USAID-ASSISTED ACTIVITIES, AS WELL AS ALL OTHER DONOR SUPPORT FOR LRRP II, HAS BEEN SLOW TO DATE. MAJOR INTERNAL FACTORS INCLUDE DELAYS IN RECRUITING KEY STAFF (FOR THE UNDP/TSU ACTIVITY) AND MEETING PROGRAM CONDITIONALITY REQUIREMENTS (FOR THE WORLD BANK LOAN). MAJOR EXTERNAL PROBLEMS HAVE BEEN CAUSED BY PERIODIC GOZ RHETORIC AND/OR ACTIONS RELATED TO THE LRRP II, SUCH AS SIGNIFICANT AND HIGHLY QUESTIONABLE LAND ALLOCATIONS TO FAVORED BENEFICIARIES UNDER THE COMMERCIAL RESETTLEMENT SCHEME, AND PROPOSED CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENTS PROVIDING FOR LAND ACQUISITION WITHOUT DUE COMPENSATION. AS A RESULT, FEW DONOR FUNDS HAVE BEEN DISBURSED TO DATE FOR LAND ACQUISITION OR ACTUAL RESETTLEMENT PURPOSES, DESPITE SIGNIFICANT PRIOR COMMITMENTS (NOTABLY AT THE DONOR CONFERENCE DISCUSSED ABOVE) TO MAKE FUNDS AVAILABLE TO SUPPORT THESE MORE TANGIBLE ASPECTS OF LRRP II.

17. AS A RESULT OF THESE DELAYS, PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW IN
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MEETING INCEPTION PHASE TARGETS, WITH ONLY 59 FARMS (ABOUT 90,000 HA) ACQUIRED WITH NOW-EXHAUSTED GOZ FUNDS AND 1,700 FAMILIES SETTLED (WITHOUT ADEQUATE INFRASTRUCTURE) TO DATE. THIS PROGRESS CONTRASTS WITH A FIRST YEAR TARGET FOR THE INCEPTION PHASE OF ACQUIRING 250,000 HA. OF LAND, OR ABOUT 150 FARMS. SINCE DONOR FUNDING IS FOCUSED LARGELY ON ALTERNATIVE MODELS FOR LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT, AND FEW DONOR FUNDS HAVE BEEN DISBURSED, THE BULK OF THE RESETTLEMENT UNDERTAKEN TO DATE HAS BEEN ACCORDING TO THE MORE REGRESSIVE AND TOP-DOWN GOVERNMENT-ADMINISTERED APPROACHES TO PROGRAM IMPLEMENTATION NOTED ABOVE. THEREFORE, LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN ACHIEVED IN TESTING AND PROMOTING THE MORE DESIRABLE ALTERNATIVE APPROACHES FOR THIS CRITICAL AREA OF NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT.

18. AS MIGHT BE EXPECTED, THIS SITUATION HAS CAUSED INCREASING FRUSTRATION AMONG KEY GOZ DECISION-MAKERS AND COUNTERPARTS, ESPECIALLY AS PARLIAMENTARY ELECTIONS DRAW NEAR. DESPITE ALL OF THE RHETORIC ON THIS SUBJECT, HOWEVER, ALL FARMS ACQUIRED UNDER THE PROGRAM TO DATE HAVE BEEN THROUGH CASH PAYMENT UP FRONT OF FAIR MARKET VALUE FOR THE LAND AND IMPROVEMENTS. AS OF MARCH 2000, APPROXIMATELY Z\$ 200 MILLION, OR US\$ 5 MILLION OF GOZ

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ACTION AID-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AGRE-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	COME-00
	DOTE-00	DS-00	EB-00	EUR-01	FAAE-00	UTED-00	FDRE-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/004W				

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P 271036Z APR 00
FM AMEMBASSY HARARE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 5880
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
DEPT OF COMMERCE WASHDC
DEPTTREAS WASHDC
SECDEF WASHINGTON DC

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AFR/SA FOR N. NEWMAN, C. REINTSMA, W. JEFFERS

DEPT FOR AF A/S SUSAN RICE, AF DAS POWELL, AF
DAS SCHNEIDMAN, AF/S RENDER BOOTH, AND GURNEY

NSC FOR SENIOR AFRICA DIRECTOR GAYLE SMITH

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FUNDS HAD BEEN SPENT TO PURCHASE 59 FARMS TOTALING APPROXIMATELY 90,000 HA. THE GOZ HAS ALSO RELEASED 45 ADDITIONAL FARMS (APPROXIMATELY 125,000 HA), ACQUIRED PREVIOUSLY THROUGH A VARIETY OF MEANS, FOR LRRP II PURPOSES.

CURRENT STATUS

19. AS REPORTED IN REF (C), UNDP RESIDENT REPRESENTATIVE (RESREP) CARLOS LOPES CHAIRED A MEETING ON MARCH 14 OF ALL DONORS CURRENTLY INVOLVED IN THE UNDP/TSU PROJECT TO DISCUSS AN APPROPRIATE PROJECT AND DONOR RESPONSE TO THE CURRENT FARM INVASIONS OCCURRING THROUGHOUT ZIMBABWE'S LARGE-SCALE COMMERCIAL FARMING AREAS (REFS D AND E). AS A RESULT OF GOVERNMENT'S LACK OF ANY EFFECTIVE RESPONSE TO THIS SITUATION, ALL DONORS INVOLVED ARE INCREASINGLY CONCERNED ABOUT THE PROSPECTS FOR SUCCESSFUL PROJECT (AND GREATER LRRP II) IMPLEMENTATION. AS A RESULT, ALL PRESENT AT THE MEETING, INCLUDING AMBASSADOR MCDONALD, UNANIMOUSLY RESOLVED THAT UNDP WOULD DRAFT A LETTER TO THE GOZ INDICATING OUR JOINT CONCERN REGARDING THIS SITUATION, OUR UNDERSTANDING THAT THESE ACTIONS (AND/OR LACK THEREOF) CONSTITUTED A BREACH OF THE AGREED UPON COMMUNIQUE AGREEMENTS

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(ESPECIALLY REGARDING THE 'RULE OF LAW'), AND OUR JOINT DECISION TO FREEZE PROJECT FUNDS, WITH NO NEW MAJOR PROJECT COMMITMENTS, UNTIL THIS SERIOUS LAND INVASION SITUATION IS DISCUSSED AND SUCCESSFULLY RESOLVED. THE LETTER ALSO REQUESTS A TRI-PARTITE MEETING, AS CALLED FOR IN THE PROJECT AGREEMENT, TO DISCUSS THIS DECISION AND SITUATION WITH THE GOVERNMENT AND IDENTIFY A WAY FORWARD. THE TWO-WEEK DEADLINE INCLUDED IN THIS LETTER EXPIRED ON APRIL 11, WITH NO RESPONSE RECEIVED TO DATE FROM THE GOZ.

20. IN ACCORDANCE WITH THIS DECISION, USAID SUBSEQUENTLY ALSO NOTIFIED LTC, BOTH VERBALLY AND IN WRITING, OF OUR DECISION TO EFFECT A SIMILAR FREEZE OR SUSPENSION OF ASSISTANCE UNDER THE LTC COOPERATIVE AGREEMENT UNTIL THIS SITUATION IS PROPERLY ADDRESSED. LTC HAS CONSENTED TO COMPLY WITH THIS REQUEST UNTIL SUCH TIME AS THEY ARE NOTIFIED OTHERWISE. THE INTENT OF THESE ACTIONS IS TO SEND A STRONG JOINT SIGNAL TO GOVERNMENT OF THE DONORS' SERIOUS CONCERN REGARDING THIS SITUATION, WITHOUT AT THIS TIME EFFECTING ANY ACTIONS WHICH WOULD SERIOUSLY UNDERMINE OUR ABILITIES TO CONTINUE OUR LONGER-TERM SUPPORT FOR LRRP II, IF/WHEN THIS SITUATION IS PROPERLY RECTIFIED. THIS IS THE PROGRAM'S CURRENT STATUS. THE MISSION WILL INFORM OF ANY NEW DEVELOPMENTS AS THEY OCCUR.

21. COMMENT: ALTHOUGH PROGRESS HAS BEEN SLOW TO DATE, WE BELIEVE THE INCEPTION PHASE, AS AGREED TO IN THE JOINT DONORS' LAND CONFERENCE COMMUNIQUE (SEE PARA 3.), REMAINS NOT ONLY RELEVANT, BUT ALSO CRITICAL FOR LONG-TERM LRRP II SUCCESS. BY TESTING ALTERNATIVE POLICIES AND APPROACHES TO LAND REFORM AND RESETTLEMENT IN ZIMBABWE, IT HAS THE POTENTIAL TO EXERT SIGNIFICANT POSITIVE IMPACTS ON THE COURSE OF GREATER LRRP II IMPLEMENTATION. GIVEN THE MASSIVE SCALE OF THIS PROGRAM AND ITS

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POTENTIAL FOR SIGNIFICANT LONG-TERM SOCIO-ECONOMIC AND ENVIRONMENTAL IMPACTS, IT IS IMPERATIVE FOR ZIMBABWE'S FUTURE PROSPERITY THAT THIS PROGRAM IS IMPLEMENTED PROPERLY. FOR THIS REASON (AND CONSIDERING GOVERNMENT'S PAST FAILED EFFORTS IN THIS AREA), MISSION FIRMLY BELIEVES THAT THE ORIGINAL PILOT RATIONALE FOR THE INCEPTION PHASE REMAINS VALID AT THIS TIME.

22. DESPITE THE START-UP PROBLEMS AND DELAYS EXPERIENCED IN INCEPTION PHASE IMPLEMENTATION TO DATE, FOR ANYONE TO DECLARE FAILURE AT THIS TIME IS PREMATURE. MOST OF THE KEY DONOR ASSISTANCE FOR INCEPTION PHASE IMPLEMENTATION WAS ALMOST IN PLACE (INCLUDING THE CRITICAL MISSING LAND ACQUISITION INGREDIENT WHICH WAS IN FINAL PREPARATION BY BRITAIN) WHEN THE CURRENT FARM INVASION CRISIS BEGAN. IN ADDITION, KEY TECHNICAL

ZIMBABWEAN GOVERNMENT AND NON-GOVERNMENTAL COUNTERPARTS KNOW WHAT SHOULD BE DONE FOR SUCCESSFUL PROGRAM EXECUTION AND, IF GIVEN THE CHANCE TO WORK WITH DONORS, WOULD PROBABLY DO IT WELL. FINALLY, DESPITE THE CURRENT NEGATIVE DIALOGUE ON THIS SUBJECT, MOST DONORS CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE PROGRAM'S FUNDAMENTAL NEED AND RATIONALE. HENCE, WITH A SATISFACTORY RESOLUTION OF THE CURRENT INVASION CRISIS AND SUCCESSFUL ENSUING INCEPTION PHASE

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ACTION AID-00

INFO	LOG-00	NP-00	AF-00	AGRE-00	ACQ-00	CIAE-00	COME-00
	DOT-00	DS-00	EB-00	EUR-01	FAAE-00	UTED-00	FDRE-01
	TEDE-00	INR-00	IO-00	NSAE-00	NSCE-00	DSCC-00	DRL-02
	NFAT-00	SAS-00	/004W				

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RESULTS, THERE IS EVERY REASON TO BELIEVE THAT SUBSTANTIAL ADDITIONAL DONOR SUPPORT FOR THIS PROGRAM WOULD BE FORTHCOMING IN THE FUTURE (INCLUDING FOR LAND ACQUISITION PURPOSES).

23. THE MISSION CONTINUES TO BE CONVINCED THAT THE PRIMARY IMPETUS FOR THE CURRENT FARM CRISIS IS POLITICS, NOT LAND. THEREFORE, WHEN THE UPCOMING ELECTIONS ARE COMPLETED, MOST DONORS REMAIN HOPEFUL THAT THE SITUATION WILL RETURN TO SOME SEMBLANCE OF NORMALITY. AT THAT TIME, THE INCEPTION PHASE WILL BE AS NECESSARY (IF NOT MORE SO) THAN IT ALWAYS HAS BEEN, IN ORDER TO LAY THE PROPER GROUNDWORK FOR A TRULY SUSTAINABLE SOLUTION TO THIS MOST DIFFICULT PERENNIAL NATIONAL ISSUE. END COMMENT.

MCDONALD

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